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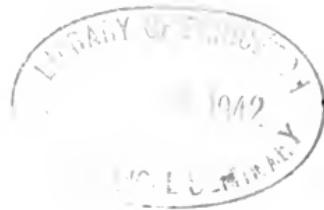
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TO

SCHÜRER'S HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

✓
Edinburgh, 1891.

Translated by

REV. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A.,

FINDHORN.



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PREFATORY NOTE.

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In accordance with the strongly expressed wish of Professor Schürer, his elaborate and carefully compiled Index has been faithfully reproduced in English for the benefit of students of his *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. The need of an Index for so extensive and thorough-going a treatise as that which has now been completed in five English volumes, will be apparent to all who are in any measure acquainted with the work. The English edition has been issued almost contemporaneously with the German, the last two volumes having been translated from proof-sheets forwarded by the author from time to time as the printing of the original advanced.

The figures used in the Index references indicate respectively the Division (I. II.), the volume in each Division (I. i. ii.; II. i. ii. iii.), and the page.

At the end of this volume are given the Additions and Corrections which Professor Schürer wishes to be made to Division II. Those supplied by the author for Division I. are given at the close of vol. ii. of that Division.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

FINDHORN, FORRES,
20th December 1890.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO DIVISION II.

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1. We cannot with strict accuracy speak of a "conversion of the Itureans" by Aristobulus I. It was only a portion of the kingdom of Iturea that was conquered by Aristobulus, and the inhabitants of that conquered district he converted by the use of force. It is therefore extremely probable that by this we must understand that region which is practically coextensive with Galilee, or at least its northern portions. See Division I. vol. i. p. 293.
3. In Galilee, "even during the Persian age," Judaism, properly so called, had not by any means obtained complete ascendancy. The population of that district was, even in the beginning of the Maccabean age, predominantly non-Jewish (see Division I. vol. i. p. 192 f.). It is correct to say only, that the resident Jews scattered up and down through the district belonged to the Jewish, not to the Samaritan party, and as worshippers maintained their connection with Jerusalem.
4. line 13 from the top, cancel the words, "and coinage." The reference is only to differences of weights between Judea and Galilee (*Terumoth* x. 8 : Cured fish of 10 sus weight in Judea were reckoned 5 sela in Galilee ; *Kethuboth* v. 9 and *Chullin* xi. 2 : Wool of 5 sela in Judea = 10 sela in Galilee).
14. The name Atargatis had certainly, down to 1879, in addition to its appearing on the inscription of Astypalia, occurred "only three times besides in Greek inscriptions." A rich addition, however, has since been made to this material by the French excavations at Delos. See Hauvette-Besnault, *Fouilles de Délos*; *Aphrodite syrienne, Adad et Atargatis* (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. vi. 1882, pp. 470-503; the Atargatis inscriptions, pp. 495-500, n. 12-21). In these Atargatis is generally joined with Adad (Ἄδατοι καὶ Ἀταργάται). Once (p. 497, n. 15) we meet with Ἄγρη Ἀφροδίτη Ἀταργάτη καὶ Ἀδάδον [r. Ἀδάδῳ].—To the literature on

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- Atargatis add: Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der DMG*. xxxix. 1885, p. 42 f. (specially on the various forms of the Greek name); Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phoenicier* (1889), p. 148 f.
52. The offensive military standards which Pilate carried into Jerusalem were not the eagles of the legions. This, indeed, was impossible, because Pilate had no legionary troops (see Division I. vol. ii. pp. 49, 50). Figures of the emperor, however, were carried, not only by the legions, but also by the auxiliary troops. For further details, see Division I. vol. ii. p. 78. In the case also of the army of Vitellius we must think of figures of the emperor and not of the legionary eagles.
83. The identity of Apollonia and Arsuf is demonstrated, not only from the table of distances in the Peutinger table, but also by the very names themselves, for קְרֵנִים is that Semitic deity which corresponds to Apollo. On a bilingual inscription at Idalion in Cyprus (*Corp. Inscr. Semit.* n. 89) the Semitic text reads קְרֵנִים מֶלֶךְ, the Greek text reads, τῷ Απολωνὶ τῷ Ἀμυκλοῖ. On two inscriptions at Tamassos in Cyprus (published by Euting, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1887, pp. 115–123), קְרֵנִים on the one hand answers to Απολωνὶ or Απολωνὶ on the other.—The identity of the names Apollonia and Arsuf was first maintained by Clermont-Ganneau (*Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, t. xxxii. 1876, pp. 374, 375 [in the treatise on *Horus et Saint Georges*, which also appeared separately in 1877]; *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscript. et belles-lettres de l'année*, 1881 [iv. série, t. ix.], p. 186 sq.). Compare also, Nölleke, *Zeitschrift der DMG*, 1888, p. 473.
98. The situation of Hippus can now be regarded as fixed with certainty, since Schumacher has discovered a ruin Susije “between *kalat-el-husn* and *fik* on a plain lying upon a slight elevation between the two” (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. ix. 1886, pp. 324 f., 349 f.; see also, Schumacher’s Map of Djaulan in this same journal). Susije is the Arabic form of the Hebrew, Susitha, corresponding to the Greek, Ιππιος. For the identity of Susije and Hippus we may cite, e.g., Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue critique*, 1886, Nr. 46, p. 388; *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements*, 1887, pp. 36–38; Kasteren, *Zeitschrift des DPV*. xi. 1888, pp. 235–238.
- 118, note 126a. The inscription copied by Merrill is once more published by Allen in *American Journal of Philology*, vol. vi. 1885, pp. 191, 192, with the observation, that instead of [Γ]ερ[α]σην we should read ε[τ]ερ[α]ση.
- 143, note 385. The ancient Livias or Beth-Ramtha is identical with the modern Tell er-Rame, south of Tell Nimrin. In the neighbourhood hot springs have been found. See *Zeitschrift des DPV*. ii. 1879, pp. 2, 3; vii. 1884, p. 201 ff.

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- 64 and 69. On the interesting inscriptions of Hammam el-Enf (or, according to the common pronunciation, Hammam-Lif) compare the more exact descriptions by Renan, *Revue archéologique*, troisième série, t. i. 1883, pp. 157–163, t. iii. 1884, pp. 273–275, pl. vii.-xi. (we have here the best illustrations), and Kaufmann, *Revue des études juives*, t. xiii. 1886, pp. 46–61; for a statement of opinion see also Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, xiii., pp. 217–223.—The first communications which I followed have now been proved inexact in several particulars, especially in the statement, that the Christian monogram is found upon one of the inscriptions. This alleged monogram, which stands in the text of the inscription, is a P with a cross line as a mark of abbreviation. Since thus every vestige of evidence for its Christian origin breaks down, and since, on the other hand, on that inscription there is a representation of the seven-branched candlestick, it is certain that the inscriptions should be regarded as Jewish. So also Renan, Kaufmann, and Reinach. They are found upon the Mosaic flooring of a building, therefore of a synagogue. It is certainly remarkable that on these mosaics are figured also, beasts, fishes, peacocks, etc. But such figures are also found in the Jewish catacombs of the Vigna Randanini at Rome (to which Kaufmann has rightly called attention).—Seeing that on pp. 64 and 69 I have expressed myself as if there were but one inscription in question, it may be here stated that there are indeed three inscriptions. The one communicated on p. 64 is found on the floor of the portico, the one communicated on p. 69 on the floor of the inner room. Instead of *Julia Gnar* we should there read *Juliana p.*—The mosaics are no longer in the locality and in their place(destroyed or stolen?). See *Revue des études juives*, xiii. 217.
70. The washing of hands before prayer was obligatory. Compare Maimonides, *Hilchoth Tephilla*, iv. 1–5: “There are five indispensable requirements for prayer that must be observed even while it is being offered. The cleanliness of the hands, the covering of nakedness, the cleanliness of the place where the prayer is uttered, the putting away of matters that dissipate the mind, and the fervour of the heart. (2) In reference to the cleanliness of the hands the following prescriptions are to be observed. The hands are to be sprinkled with water as far up as the wrist, and then the worshipper proceeds immediately with his prayer. But if any one should be on a journey when the time of prayer arrives, and there is no water at hand, yet if it be so that between him and water there is only a distance of four miles or 8000 ells, he is bound to go to the water, and there wash his hands and then repeat his prayer. But if the distance be greater, then he is obliged only to

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- wipe his hands with shavings or sand or on a board, and thereafter he may proceed to pray. (3) The above obligation, however, only comes into force if the water is found in the direction in which the traveller is going: if it is behind him, he is obliged to turn back only if it is not more than a mile distant. If the distance is greater than a mile, then he merely wipes his hands clean and may proceed with his prayer. (4) The obligation merely to wash the hands has reference only to those prayers that are said at other times than in the morning. At morning prayer, on the other hand, the worshipper is required to wash face, hands, and feet before he can pray. But if at the time of morning prayer one be far from water, then he merely wipes his hands and thereafter proceeds to pray. (5) All who have been pronounced unclean, as well as those who are clean, have simply to wash their hands, and can then engage in prayer, for the complete submersion even if it could be thoroughly carried out, in order to remove ceremonial defilement, is not necessary in order to prayer."—J. F. Schröder, *Satzen und Gebräuche des talmudisch-rabbinischen Judenthums* (1851), p. 25: "Before going to the synagogue, even if they were sure that they had not touched anything unclean, the worshippers were required always to wash their hands."—Compare generally also *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 591–593 (ed. Friedlieb).—The statements made by Schneckenburger, *Ueber das Alter der jüdischen Proselytentaufe* (1828), p. 38, require sifting.
165. On Armilus, אַרְמִילָס, see Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* Bd. xxxix. 1885, p. 343 (in the criticism of Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*): "It is simply Πωμύλος, which appears in the Syriac as אַרְמָלָס (Lagarde, *Analeet.* 203. 3); Romulus is here the representative of Rome." A similar view had been expressed before by Vitringa, *Observationes sacrae*, vi. 21, p. 489; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 282; Castelli, *Il Messia*, p. 244 sqq.; Weber, *Die altsynagogale palästinische Theologie*, p. 349. Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge* (1888), p. 13 f., expresses himself in a hesitating and vacillating manner.—The original text of the Armilus legend is given by Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* (i. 35–57: *Midrash Vajoscha*. ii. 54–57; *Das Buch Serubabel*. ii. 58–63; *Die Zeichen des Messias*. iii. 65–68; *Apocalypse des Elias*. iii. 78–82; *Mysterien des Simon ben Jochai*).
167. On the Messiah, son of Joseph, compare the thorough and methodically conducted investigations of Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge*, p. 16 ff. The result of these investigations is summed up approvingly by Siegfried (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1888, p. 397 f.) as follows: The suffering Messias ben David and the dying Messias ben Joseph are to be regarded as

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quite distinct. The latter is not a Messiah of the ten tribes, but is an idea resulting from Zech. xii.-xiv. in combination with Deut. xxxiii. 17. His death is therefore not at all regarded as an atonement. The suffering Son of David rests upon the Messianic interpretation of Isa. lxxii.

177. The expression מִלְכָתַחֲנָה, which Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaic*. col. 711 sq., quotes, and which I, led astray by Fritzsche, De Wette, and Meyer, had described as equivalent to the New Testament παντογενεσία, Matt. xix. 28, means not "The Restoration of the World," but is rather equivalent to *creatio ex nihilo*. Buxtorf refers, without any further explanation, to Rambam (Maimonides), *More Nebuchim*, without indicating the particular passage, and to the *Sepher Ikkarim* of Joseph Albo, Abschn. i. cap. 23. But there, in fact, the subject is creation out of nothing. Buxtorf's opinion, therefore, is correct. His translation, *innovatio mundi*, however, contributed to lead me, as well as others, into the error referred to.—This mistake, it may be observed by the way, is the most serious of all that the unfavourable critic of the *Revue des études juives*, xiii. 309-318, could ferret out among the 884 pp. of my book. There are some others of less consequence. In regard to the majority of his "corrections," the error lies on the side of my excellent critic, who has found much in my book which does not indeed please him, but is nevertheless true.
226. The inscription at Anapa is not Jewish. See the observations by Latyschev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, vol. i. Petersburg 1885, ad n. 98.
273. The statement that the rights of citizenship had been given to the Jews in Ephesus by Antiochus II. Theos (B.C. 261-246) is indeed probably correct, but is not supported by direct evidence. The passage referred to by me and others in support of this opinion in Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 3. 2, runs as follows: τῶν γὰρ Ιώνων κινηθέντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ δεομένων τὸν Ἀγρίππα ἵνα τῆς πολιτείας ἦν αὐτοῖς ἔσωχεν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου σιωνός, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλληνι Θεοῖς λεγόμενος, μόνοι μετίχωσιν κ.τ.λ. "When the people of Ionia were very angry at the Jews, and besought Agrippa that they, and they only, might have those privileges of citizens which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, who by the Greeks was called Theos, had bestowed upon them," etc. There is no word here of any grant of citizenship to the Jews, for αὐτοῖς refers, not to the Jews, but to the Ionians. Antiochus Theos bestowed upon the inhabitants of the cities on the Ionian coast the citizen rights (*πολιτεία*) which they possessed from that time onward, namely, autonomy and a democratic constitution, whereas at the end of the Persian age they had been governed by oligarchs. Undoubtedly the oligarchical governments in those parts had been

already overthrown by Alexander the Great (Arrian, i. 18. 2 : *καὶ τὰς μὲν δημορχίας πανταχοῦ καταλήσιν ἔκελενος, δημοχρατίας δὲ ἐγκαθιστάναι καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν σφῶν ἐκάποις ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τὸν Φίρους ἀνέναι ὅσους τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπέφευν.* On Ephesus in particular, see Arrian, i. 17. 10. Comp. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griech. Staatsalterthümer*, ii. 135 ff.). In the confusions, however, of the age of the Diadochoi, the state of matters underwent various changes from time to time, and the definite restoration of the autonomy and democracy in the communities of those parts was essentially the work of Antiochus Theos. Apart from the general testimony of Josephus in regard to these matters, we have also the following particular details. The Milesians gave to Antiochus II. the name of Theos, because he freed them from the tyrant Timarchus (Appian, *Syr.* 65). In a rescript of Antiochus II. to the Council and people of Erythraea it is said : *διότι ἵπι τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀντιγόνου αὐτούρομος ἦν καὶ ἀποοικόντος ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν* [and so presumably they had been no longer so under Seleucus I. and Antiochus I.] . . . *τὴν τε αὐτονομίαν ὑμῖν συνδιατηρήσομεν καὶ ἀφορολογήσομεν εἰναι συγχωροῦμεν* (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscript. Graec.* n. 166, after Curtius, *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1875, p. 554 ff.; the rescript is not, as Curtius had assumed, by Antiochus I., but by Antiochus II.; see Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xvi. 1881, p. 197 f.). On an inscription at Smyrna it is said in reference to Seleucus II., the son and successor of Antiochus II., that he confirmed the autonomy and democracy of the city, *ἱβριζαίσσει τῷ ὄντι τὴν αὐτονομίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν.* Since the matter spoken of immediately before was the special marks of favour shown to the city by Antiochus II., it is evident that he was regarded as the great benefactor of the city. Seleucus II. only confirmed the privileges that had been bestowed by him (*Corpus Inscript. Graec.* n. 3137, line 10 sq. = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, n. 171 = Hicks, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1882, n. 176). Compare generally : Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2 Aufl. iii. 1. 330 f.; Hicks, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 298; Foucart, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, t. ix. 1885, p. 392 sq.; Gilbert, *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, ii. 1885, pp. 135–149. —The facts that have been stated here are important for this reason, that they explain to us the origin of the citizen rights of the Jews in Ephesus and the other Ionian cities. Generally speaking, the Jews had citizen rights only in those cities which had been rebuilt during the Hellenistic age. But in the arrangements of these rebuilt cities, all the inhabitants were placed upon the same level in respect of the constitutional law. When, therefore, the constitutions of the Ionian cities in the beginning of the Hellenistic age were reorganized, the Jews also would just then receive the privilege of citizenship. Upon

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the whole, this accords with the testimony of Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 4: *οἱ ἐν Ἑφέσῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀλλην Ἰωνίαν τοῖς αὐθιγενεῖς πολίταις ὄμωνυμοῦσι, τοῦτο παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν διαδόχων.* From all that has been said, it would be more exact to say that they had this privilege from Antiochus II. rather than from the Diadochoi.

279. The monograph of Ruprecht, referred to as "just published," has not appeared.
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VOLUME III.

219 and 338 ff. Philo's systematic exposition of the Mosaic legislation was not specially written for non-Jewish readers, but was at least intended equally for Jews. See the proofs given of this view by Massebieau in his valuable treatise, *Le classement des œuvres de Philon* (*Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, Sciences religieuses*, vol. i. Paris 1889, pp. 1-91), p. 38 sq.—A complete reproduction of the contents of this interesting work of Philo is given by Oskar Holtzmann, *Das Ende des jüdischen Staatswesens und die Entstehung des Christenthums*, 1888, pp. 259-279 (= Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. pp. 531-551).

346 f. Massebieau, as well as Dähne and Gfrörer, holds that the treatises, *de caritate* and *de poenitentia* (Philo, ed. Mangey, ii. 383-407), must be regarded as occupying a place separate from and not alongside of the treatise *de fortitudine*. Only the latter belongs to the systematic exposition of the Mosaic legislation; the other two are an appendix to the *Vita Mosis* (see Massebieau, *Le classement des œuvres de Philon*, pp. 39-41). The reasons which he gives are, in fact, hardly convincing. This, however, is not the place for re-opening a discussion of the question, which is not of great importance in regard to the general arrangement of Philo's writings.—On all important points in reference to the arrangement of Philo's writings, Massebieau agrees with me, especially in this, that the *Vita Mosis* does not belong to the systematic exposition of the Mosaic legislation, and, as might have been expected, also in this, that the systematic exposition is an entirely different work from the allegorical commentary on selected passages from Genesis.

349-354. The arrangement of Philo's work on the persecutions, or rather on the persecutors of the Jews, which I attempted on the basis of the statements of Eusebius, has been subjected to a thorough criticism by Massebieau in his work just referred to, pp. 65-78. He feels himself obliged, even on the basis of the Eusebian state-

ments, to assume that the first and second of the five books which Eusebius refers to in *Hist. eccl.* ii. 5. 1, have been lost, and that in the second the persecution under Sejanus had been related. But he believes that only the *Legatio ad Cajum* which has come down to us is a fragment of those five books, whereas the treatise *adversus Flaccum* did not belong to that group. But against this theory, and in favour of the opinion that the treatise *adversus Flaccum* formed part of the five books referred to by Eusebius, the fact that our treatise *adversus Flaccum*, according to its opening words, was undoubtedly preceded by a book on the persecutions by Sejanus, affords very strong presumptive evidence. From this we are justified in concluding that the treatise *adversus Flaccum* formed the third of those five books. What powerful reasons then has Massebieau to advance against the insertion of the treatise in that series? He starts with the assumption that the Alexandrian persecution of the Jews, which is reported in the *Legatio ad Cajum*, is the same as that which is described in the treatise *adversus Flaccum*. But one and the same occurrence could not have been described with equal fulness and detail in two books of the one work. The *Legatio ad Cajum* does not by any means represent itself as a continuation of the treatise *adversus Flaccum*. Now with reference to the identity of the two persecutions, I must, in opposition to the view maintained by me in Division II. vol. iii. pp. 352, 353, agree with Massebieau (comp. Division I. vol. ii. p. 94). It is also correct to say that the *Legatio* is not the continuation of the *Flaccus*. Nevertheless, I regard it as certain that the arrangement proposed by me is the right one. Massebieau has himself afforded the key for the solution of the difficulty. He has, in an able and convincing manner, shown that Philo in this work treats, not of the persecutions, but of the persecutors of the Jews. His theme is the same as that of Lactantius in his work *de mortibus persecutorum*: all persecutors of the righteous come to an evil end. This proposition Philo supports by pointing to the cases of Sejanus, Flaccus, and Caligula. All three had cruelly persecuted the Jews. All three came to a violent end. To each of them Philo devotes a little monograph, and these three treatises are bound together into one whole only by the common point of view. Under these circumstances it can be very easily understood that the *Legatio ad Cajum* appears not as a continuation of the *Flaccus*, and that the Alexandrian persecution of the Jews is related in detail in both, although both writings form parts of one comprehensive work. That persecution must have been the subject in both books, because it was carried on by Flaccus as well as by Caligula, each proceeding in his own way. The understanding of this literary plan of Philo has been made difficult owing to the circumstance that only the treatise against Flaccus has come down to us complete, and that the

other treatise under its common designation *Legatio ad Cajum* has been regarded from a false point of view. The embassy of the Jews to Caligula is in that treatise quite a secondary matter. The main thing in it, just as in the treatise on Flaccus, is on the one hand a description of the godless infatuation of Caligula, and on the other hand the description of the divine judgment which overtook him. This second part is wanting. That it did once exist is put beyond doubt by the introduction and conclusion of the treatise.

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